!0¢ MAY 22, 1950

New Republic

ACTION ON TWO FRONTS:

1. ARMS TO INDO-CHINA
2. A MOVE TOWARD FRENCH-GERMAN AMITY

WORLD GOVERNMENT

Debated by ALAN CRANSTON and ELMER DAVIS

BELL AIR'S FEUD WITH THE UAW

By LEWIS CARLINER

"PATTERNS OF PANIC"

Reviewed by JAMES R. NEWMAN

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From Front to Back

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> ℄ "I have long thought," he wrote, "that the *New Republic's* commentator from Washington, who signs himself modestly T. R. B. (and I haven't the slightest idea who he is), is one of the sanest, best-tempered, and shrewdest analyzers of the politics in that unbelievable city. Consistently, through all changes of *New Republic* editorship, he has opened the door to each number with humor and wisdom that cannot disguise a real fighting spirit.
>
> ℄ "In my eagerness to read 'Washington Wire' every week, *NR* is the only periodical I peruse in logical order, my usual custom being to start at the back and read forward."

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TRUMAN'S SPEECHES on his Western trip seemed to us first-rate. The American public in 1948 instinctively picked the liberal candidate and elected him. They did it in the face of 90-percent editorial opposition. But what we feel can't be sufficiently emphasized is that the present political machinery doesn't permit the same voters to give the same liberal candidate a liberal Congress. The American President is the only nationally-elected officer. Congressmen control little satrapies, often run by local business, where the wind of great national issues is heard only from afar. Party responsibility and discipline haven't been developed to a point where they hold good once the election is over.

The glaring lesson of the common man's victory in the 1948 election, followed by his defeat in Congress, is that party responsibility must be increased. Organizations like Americans for Democratic Action can help promote it. Incidentally, a committee of the American Political Science Association is exploring the same problem. Lack of such party responsibility seems to this column the greatest weakness in the practice of our democracy.

On March 11, 1949, Republican Senators combined with the Dixiecrats to defeat a major effort to end filibusters. The vote was 41 to 46. It was one of the most decisive votes in the Senate in modern times. The matter comes up again now to plague the Republicans in the revived FEPC battle. GOP leader Kenneth S. Wherry excused his alliance with the Southern reactionaries a year ago on the ground that it had produced a practical system of closure. It would end filibusters, he boasted. The Wherry-Dixiecrat system requires affirmative action by 64 out of 96 Senators. In other words, if the number of those opposing closure plus the number of absentees equals 33, the filibuster wins. The minority can thereby impose an absolute veto on the House, the President, the majority of the Senate and the will of the American people. This column predicted a year ago that the walkout of the Republicans and the Wherry 64-vote provision has fastened filibusters on the Senate for keeps. Now we shall see who was right.

The effect of the one-package, "omnibus" appropriation bill was disclosed last week. For the first time in history the House wrapped up into a single huge $29 billion measure most of the big-money bills which it has hitherto considered separately. It took them up as a unit. This was the result: So long as the items were reviewed separately in preliminary floor debate, "economy" made progress backward—more money was added than taken away. But on the final day the temptation to slash recklessly and shift responsibility to somebody else was irresistible. Having failed to discover places for economy itself, the House in effect told the administrative agencies, "This bill is too big—you cut it!" In two meat-axe actions it ordered $600 million slashed horizontally, and $400 million hacked off by percentage personnel reductions from federal bureaus. Almost certainly governmental breakdown would result if these slashes took effect. Almost certainly the Senate will restore them.

Last week this column pointed out the incongruity of a man with the moral record of Louis Budenz being a professor at a denominational college like Fordham. The observation comes with better grace from a Catholic like Senator Dennis Chavez (D, N. M.). He took the floor last week to put on record some of the facts that our prissy contemporaries have hitherto regarded as news not fit to print. It is a distasteful subject, yet it involves the credibility of the man who is America's No. 1 Informer, who is denouncing other professors, besides being preceptor to the young. Chavez calls Budenz's plural relations "bigamy," notes they occurred "at the tender age of 44," before he was

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corrupted by the Communists (as Budenz now argues), and comments that Budenz at one time concentrated attentions on his adopted daughter.

It is now evident that GOP leaders think they have a winning issue in McCarthy and plan to keep it alive till the elections. On the five-man Tydings committee Hickenlooper is dragging his heels at every proposal to end hearings, and Lodge seems to be supporting him. "McCarthyism" really represents the revolt of the "frustrated primitives" against the "intellectuals" in the complexities of modern foreign affairs, as the London *Times's* Washington correspondent points out. McCarthyism helped beat Senator Claude Pepper in Florida; now it is being used against Senator Frank Graham in North Carolina. The Old Guard leadership wants to turn the fall election into a Smathers-Pepper type of campaign, with opponents branded as Communist-lovers.

Few freshman Senators have ever popped up to head big investigations. Able, liberal Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) has done so in the case of the inquiry into nationwide crime syndicates. Older Senators are gnashing their upper plates because they didn't think of it first. Chairman Ed Johnson (D, Colo.) actually tried to kidnap the probe for his Commerce Committee. His effort to get it away from the Judiciary Committee, where Kefauver is the lowest-ranking Democrat, was wonderful luck for Kefauver. The row got so hot that Democratic leaders finally decided to let Vice President Barkley name a special five-man committee, and he picked young Kefauver.

Notes. On October 15, 1949, Truman sent the Senate the nomination of brilliant William H. Hastie, former Governor of the Virgin Islands, as the first Negro ever to be named to the Circuit Court of Appeals; the delay of the McCarran Judiciary Committee in confirming Hastie while pushing through appointments made later is becoming a scandal. . . . The State Department hopes that Britain won't miss the bus on French Foreign Minister Schuman's plan to pool French-German heavy industries.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Society and the Negro

SIR: I am somewhat shocked by the unqualified praise accorded by Mr. William Gardner Smith to Maurice Davie's *Negroes in American Society* in the April 17 issue of the *New Republic*. The reviewer passes over what to me seems a major defect in this book, namely, the tendency of Professor Davie to isolate the Negro problem from the problems facing other Americans.

Davie traps the reader two ways: (a) he intimates that Negro culture has certain characteristics which white culture does not have, when actually the patterns of Negro culture are only those of white America in an exaggerated form; (b) he finds the roots of Negro behavior in certain conditions of Negro social experience which, he states, are not suffered by whites. However, most of these conditions affect whites too, though perhaps in a less severe form. . . .

. . . Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist . . . wrote in 1944 [in *An American Dilemma*]: "The Negro problem is an integral part of, a special phase of, the whole complex of problems in the larger American civilization. It cannot be treated in isolation. . . ."

. . . I believe that unless social scientists in their research into race relations adopt Myrdal's perspective, the information they uncover will reveal very little about how to improve the Negro's condition permanently.

Hanover, N. H. ROBERT GUTMAN

SIR: If Mr. William Gardner Smith's review of *Killers of the Dream*, by Lillian Smith, is indicative of his misrepresentation of the other two books he reviewed, he should stick to writing novels. . . .

Killers cannot be hewn to fit the narrow class-line concept in which Mr. Smith tries to force it. . . . It is a noble plea for the freedom and dignity of the human spirit. And that reason alone makes it infinitely more than "a psychoanalysis of a segment of the Southern middle class." The book is one of the best explanations yet for the paradoxical existence of Jim-Crowism in this liberty-loving land.

It is ridiculous to charge Miss Smith with saying that the Southern white is guilt-stricken solely because he has "memories of his Negro mammy." She shows how guilt feelings grow out of the great emotional complex of sex, sin and segregation. . . .

I like Mr. Smith's novel, *Last of the Conquerors*, but I think his book reviewing is terrible.

Chicago, Ill. EDWARD PEEKS

P. S. If it makes any difference, I am a Georgia-born Negro and have spent most of my twenty-nine years in the South.

SIR: In any comparative study of a group of people, there must be a fixed point from which deviations can be measured. Thus, Dr. Davie, using white America as his point, studies the status of the American Negro. It is correct, therefore, to say that there is overemphasis of religion among Negroes *as compared to whites*. It is correct to say there is greater poverty, greater unemployment, greater alienation from the society as a whole. . . .

The position of the Negro in America *is* unique, in that, piled on top of the problems the Negro suffers in common with the general white population, are the myriad additional problems which derive solely from his skin color (segregation in schools and the Army, violence and the fear of violence, etc.). There is a bribe attendant upon class society: the intelligent white worker can *hope* to rise above his class. No such bribe is held out to the Negro; no matter what his intellectual achievements or financial status, he will always be subject to the insults visited upon Negroes. The difference is the very great one between class and caste.

It is true that the Negro problem is an integral part of the whole complex of problems of the larger American civilization, true that this problem can be solved only in conjunction with the solution of general American and, indeed, world problems. This in no way precludes a study of the objective conditions of Negro life, with analysis of the social and psychological results of these conditions, even where the correct solution to the problem is not indicated.

To lay the racial ills of the South at the feet of a sort of mass psychosis growing out of the manias of sin, sex and segregation, as Miss Smith does, is to move only halfway toward the basic truth. Racial prejudice is at base a sociological problem; only afterwards does it become a psychological one. This difference in emphasis is one of my disagreements with Miss Smith.

I take exception most strenuously, however, to her "solution." She seems to feel that the individual white man must search himself, decide he is doing evil, and then resolve to do good, to "climb thin air into the unknown." This is also her "noble plea" for the solution of the problem of "man's relation to man in the community of the world." I believe this is unreal. It is like a plea for universal disarmament or world government, with the objective world what it is today. There are difficult, concrete problems to be solved; they must be solved in a concrete manner, not by mysticism or even mass application of Freudian psychoanalysis.

WILLIAM GARDNER SMITH

Philadelphia, Pa.

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 21, ISSUE 1851, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 22, 1950 **New Republic**

WHAT SORT OF HELP FOR INDO-CHINA?

A MAJOR and fateful decision for American policy was announced by Secretary Acheson in Paris last week. The US is planning to give substantial military and economic aid to the three states of French Indo-China and to France herself for use in that area.

As might be expected, military aid comes first. About $75 million is available now from President Truman's special fund under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. Non-military aid will have to come from funds not yet appropriated by Congress, and there is, indeed, no guarantee that the appropriation will ever be made. The State Department is asking that $64 million be earmarked for Southeast Asia out of $100 million proposed in the pending Economic Coöperation Administration bill for "the general area of China." But this amount would not be for Indo-China; it would be used, over a period of fifteen months, in that country and in Burma, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia. Of this amount, Indo-China would get at most $23 million.

The military aid will be used in the attempt to defeat Ho Chi-minh, the Communist leader, and to prevent a southward sweep of the Chinese Communists. It seems pretty clear that if the Communist movement, both military and political, cannot be stopped at the northern border of Indo-China, it cannot be stopped anywhere in Asia.

Will our military aid be effective? To answer this question we need information which is still lacking. In China, we poured out vast quantities of arms and other supplies to Chiang Kai-shek only to have them wasted or sold to the enemy. The will to resist was so weak that our aid was useless, and may even have done more harm than good, because it supported the Communist accusation that Chiang was the tool of foreign imperialism. That is why it is nonsense to say, as the McCarthys do, that we "lost China" by not aiding the Nationalists.

What will happen in Indo-China? Here we have, not an independent country like China, but a colony. The best evidence we have suggests that practically nobody in Indo-China likes the French or wants to continue as the object of French imperialism. Many Vietnamese who are not Communists are supporting Ho simply because he represents the best hope of getting rid of the French. It is no wonder that France has been spending half her military budget—something like $500 million a year—and using about 140,000 troops in fighting the revolution, and getting nowhere.

France is holding on from old-fashioned imperialistic greed and nothing else, just as the British are holding on in Malaya, and as the Dutch held on in Indonesia until the cost grew so heavy that it was cheaper to let go.

Secretary Acheson recognizes this aspect of the problem. His announcement in Paris puts "genuine nationalism" even ahead of military aid among our objectives. The unanswered question is whether the French agree with him, and if they do, whether the Vietnamese can be convinced that this is the case. The lesson of Greece is instructive. We went into Greece, as we are going into Indo-China, to stop a Communist movement which was believed to be aided by a foreign power. At the time, the *New Republic* urged that the military aid to the Greek government should be supplemented by pressure on that government in the direction of democracy—something Greece had not seen for many years. America's subsequent record of fumbling and comparative failure in Greece shows that the *New Republic* had appraised the situation correctly.

It would be quixotic to suggest, at this stage of the world's development, that the Western Powers should not use military means to stop the Communists in Indo-China. It is not quixotic, though, but sound common sense, to say that military aid is only 10 percent, at most, of what needs to be done. Military aid will fail, as it failed in China, unless the people of Indo-China and the adjacent lands can be convinced that the West really wants them to have independence, peace and prosperity, and is taking effective steps in that direction.

What are these effective steps? First of all, France should make a solemn pledge, preferably through the United Nations, and with the firm support of Great Britain and the United States, that she will immediately proceed to give all of Indo-China at least the degree of independence that Indonesia has achieved.

Second, the French, the Americans and all the agencies of the UN should be brought into play to help Indo-China in a material sense. Some of the aspects of the help most urgently needed were listed in the *New Republic* for April 24 ("The Cold War's Center"). Indo-China urgently needs a health program to fight the malaria, dysentery, trachoma and other diseases which

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are rife today. She needs to have her war-shattered countryside restored, with roads, bridges, irrigation ditches. She needs large foreign credits to be used in developing her industry and encouraging foreign trade. She needs educational facilities for the mass of her people.

Over and over again, the world has discovered in recent years that you can't shoot an idea. Often the opposite is true; the more you resort to force, the greater the power of the ideas you seek to destroy. By standing wholeheartedly with the French by our hasty and probably ill-advised recognition of their puppet, Bao Dai, we have undoubtedly incurred the resentment, suspicion and ill-will of the majority of the population. If we are not to have another China disaster on our hands, we must make sure that we come into Indo-China as friends, and not as supporters of old imperialism with new phrases. A definite commitment of $75 million for military purposes and a conditional pledge of an indefinite, much smaller sum for all other purposes combined, make a poor beginning.

A MOVE TOWARD FRENCH-GERMAN AMITY

WHAT COULD BE a tremendously important forward step in French-German relations has been suggested by the French cabinet. The fact that it was immediately hailed by Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany shows that he had been consulted before the plan was made public; and it seems certain that this was true also of Great Britain and the United States.

The scheme is one to combine and operate as a single unit the coal, iron and steel production of France, Germany and such other European countries as wished to join; the first invitations are going to Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Italy. The plan, the French say, would be open to all other countries—including Russia and her satellites.

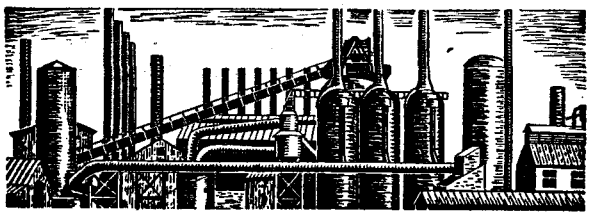
An international authority would be set up, which would operate the whole mechanism. Import tariffs and dumping would both be prohibited, in regard to these products, in all the countries adhering to the scheme. Production would be "regionalized" and prices and wages would be harmonized, the wage plan being set up to attempt to equalize the living conditions of the workers in the several countries. The assumption is that under this scheme German weapons from the Ruhr could not be used again, as has been done three times in eighty years, in assaults on France.

The difficulties in the way of this proposal are obvious and huge. The United States would have to consent, and powerful influences here would fear damage to our own foreign markets. The British would have to agree either to participate or to maintain benevolent neutrality, and Britain's iron and steel trade, which the Labour Government is not likely to nationalize under its present precarious control, might well think its best interests were served by fighting the enterprise from the beginning. Another problem is the fact that the French coal industry is nationalized, French iron and steel are privately owned, and in Germany the pattern is one of private ownership complicated by a welter of international authorities, plus the damage done by the war and by the preceding six years of the Hitler regime.

Even though the announcement says that the International Authority for the Ruhr would be carefully respected, it is doubtful whether this would prove the case in practice. If private ownership by the Comité des Forges in France were respected and private ownership in Germany were bolstered up, even beyond the present level, we might have a super-cartel; enormous and dangerous power would remain in the hands of wealthy men who in the past have shown little sense of responsibility to anything except their own pocketbooks. The same thing would be even more true if the capitalists of other countries came in. German productivity would probably increase even beyond the present level, which means that if the plan were ever ended for any reason, the Germans would again have heavy military capacity, something the West has been trying hard to prevent.

When the French suggest that even Soviet Russia might come into the plan, it is hard to take them seriously. This scheme is certainly allied with the cold war; one of the presumptive arguments in its favor is that it would guarantee to the West the German productive capacity if a shooting war were to begin. For Russia to participate would mean we had achieved a utopian state of affairs that is probably many years away.

While all this is true, it would be a mistake to brush this proposal aside with contempt. Neither France nor Germany has the horror of nationalization that exists in the United States; putting these industries under government ownership in both countries, if it could be done, would solve many of the difficulties mentioned above, while maintaining the great advantage that German productivity could never be used against France. The plan is certainly worth exploration; and a beginning at this was made at the conference of Big Three Foreign Ministers in London.



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THE WEEK

REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE

In the last week President Truman and the Democratic Party have taken a long step toward improving the relation of the people to their government. The President turned his preliminary campaign tour into a "Report to the Nation." He told his listeners that he believes they are entitled to such personal accountings every year and that he intends to come back to see them that often while he holds the office.

The "Jefferson Jubilee" rally in Chicago featured the first open meeting of the cabinet, talking directly to the people via radio and television on the state of affairs in all the departments of the government. Larded with election-year platitudes as they were, the statements still contained information which every voter should have. The precedent created by the Chicago rally should be continued until both major parties adopt a system of regular conventions before every national election.

Truman has set a high tone for his party in 1950. His Western speeches consistently dwelt on the constructive possibilities we have as a nation. He explained why the Fair Deal program is in the public interest and what motivates its opponents. The best chance of preventing 1950 from becoming another 1946 Republican landslide is for Democratic candidates to emulate the President in their individual campaigns.

THE NON-COMMUNIST OATH

The Supreme Court has handed down a decision that comes dangerously close to giving Congress the authority to probe into the political opinions of American citizens. By upholding the constitutionality of the non-Communist-oath provision in the Taft-Hartley Act, the Court has handed anti-labor forces a new weapon, given Congress a nod to go ahead with legislation against Communism, and, in effect, questioned the protection assured individuals by the First Amendment. Justice Hugo Black alone dissented. Justices Douglas, Minton and Clark took no part. Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Reed, Burton, Frankfurter and Jackson upheld the right of Congress to require labor-union officials to swear that they are not members of the Communist Party.

But the majority disagreed on one major point. Justices Frankfurter and Jackson, in separate opinions, concurred on the legality of that part of the law which bars Communist Party members from holding union offices, but dissented on the section that bars from holding office those who "believe in" forcible overthrow of the government. "Attempts of the Courts," Justice Jackson said, "to fathom the modern political meditations of an accused would be as futile and mischievous as the efforts in the infamous heresy trials of old to fathom religious beliefs." Justice Frankfurter charged that Congress has no right to "probe into opinions" and to invade "the inner life of men whose compassionate thoughts or doctrinaire hopes may be as far removed from any dangerous kinship with the Communist creed as were those of the founders of the present orthodox political parties in this country."

Justice Black is again to be praised for his forthright analysis of the implications behind the Court's decision. He opened his dissent with a quotation from Blackstone's *Commentaries* in which Blackstone recalls that Dionysius is "recorded to have executed a subject barely for dreaming that he had killed him; which was held sufficient proof that he had thought thereof in his waking hours." Such a result, Justice Black said, while too barbaric to be tolerated in our nation, "is not illogical if a government can tamper in the realm of thought and penalize 'belief' on the ground that it might lead to illegal conduct. Individual freedom and governmental thought-probing cannot live together."

Vinson argued that Congress, under the interstate-commerce power, used the oath in an attempt to prevent political strikes and that such strikes are the motive behind Communist infiltration into labor-union leadership. "[The oath] is designed to protect the public, not against what Communists and others identified therein advocate or believe, but against what Congress has concluded they have done and are likely to do again," Vinson said. He denied that the First Amendment was in any way affected by this case. "That Amendment," he said, "requires that one be permitted to believe what he will. It requires that one be permitted to advocate what he will unless there is a clear and present danger that a substantive evil will result therefrom. It does not require that he be permitted to be the keeper of the arsenal."

Justice Black rebutted Vinson's argument, saying that the decision "rejects the fundamental principle" that, under the First Amendment, "beliefs are inviolate." Of Vinson's declaration that "while this court sits" it will not approve unlimited power for Congress in forcing disclosure of attitudes on all types of social, economic and political issues, Black charged: "Never before has this Court held that the government could for any reason attain persons for their political beliefs or affiliations. It does so today."

Black pointed out that the "test oath" has long been used as a weapon for inflicting penalties on minorities:

> It was one of the major devices used against the Huguenots in France, and against "heretics" during the Spanish Inquisition. It helped English rulers identify and outlaw Catholics, Quakers, Baptists, and Congregationalists—groups considered dangerous for political as well as religious [reasons]. . . . Whether religious, political, or both, test oaths are implacable foes of free thought.
>
> These experiences underline the wisdom of the basic constitutional precept that penalties should be imposed only for a person's own conduct, not for his beliefs or for the conduct of others with whom he may associate. Guilt should not be imputed solely from association or affiliation with political parties or any other organization, however much we abhor the ideas which they advocate.

He warned that fears of alien ideologies have frequently agitated the nation and inspired legislation aimed at suppressing advocacy of those ideologies. "At such times the fog of public excitement

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obscures the ancient landmarks set up in our Bill of Rights," he said.

With this decision, the high court has indirectly sanctioned the constitutionality of the Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill and the provisions of the Smith Act, under which the 11 Communists were recently convicted. The Truman Court has wandered far afield of the principles laid down by Chief Justice Hughes when he said, speaking for a unanimous Court:

> The greater the importance of safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our institutions by force and violence, the more imperative is the need to preserve inviolate the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government.

TAFT HOLDS THE KEY TO FEPC

The only man who can save Truman's Fair Employment Practices legislation in the Senate this year is Robert A. Taft. Now, as when the FEPC was before the Senate two years ago, the Democratic Majority Leader is completely out of control of the situation. Unless Senator Taft decides to make the vote for closing debate on FEPC a test of Republican Party loyalty, the likelihood is that the civil-rights bill will be forced aside again.

As a result of Senator Claude Pepper's defeat in Florida, Southern opponents of FEPC are more firmly united than at any time in recent years. Of the Southerners, only Pepper and Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) can be expected to support closure to permit a final vote on the measure. The statement of Jonathan Daniels, North Carolina editor and former White House aide, that he could not go along with a compulsory FEPC is taken as the signal that not even Senator Frank Graham, up for reëlection in Daniels' state, will back the Administration.

The Southerners are in such a strong position that they have not yet found it necessary to engage in outright filibuster at all. They have contrived a legislative filibuster instead. First, Southerners joined the Taft Republicans to lay FEPC aside and consider President Truman's proposal to eliminate the post of National Labor Relations Board general counsel. The long-delayed social-security-extension bill, of which Senator Walter George, of Georgia, is in charge, is now ready to be called up in a similar move. A variety of such business is being made ready by the Southerners in the hope that this kind of "powder-puff filibuster" will do the job.

"The one in the front is from the Communists."

The additional number of border-state Democrats who are committed by earlier log-rolling deals to side with the Southerners is large enough to make it almost impossible to obtain 64 signatures to a closure petition, unless the Republicans are present and voting 100 percent for closure on the day the issue is raised. That is where Senator Taft comes in. No one else could whip the doubtful members of the GOP into line. But Taft is still undecided whether the gain in support from minority groups for himself and the Republicans would be great enough to merit such exertion. As of now, Ohio Negroes are seriously disaffected with Taft. He is being told that if he undertakes to deliver the entire bloc of 42 Republican votes in the Senate, instead of the 35 which Minority Leader Kenneth Wherry has pledged, the Negro voters in Ohio and elsewhere will consider returning to the GOP.

The most experienced nose-counters in the Senate feel that unless Taft can vote *all* the Republicans for closure, the issue will be lost and FEPC will join the list of Fair Deal measures that must wait another year.

TOWARD FULL EMPLOYMENT

President Truman could have given the American people no greater assurance of his firm determination to cope with economic difficulties in advance of disaster than he has done in the appointment of Leon Keyserling as chairman of his Council of Economic Advisers. Keyserling, more than any other man close to the President, has insisted that all government policies must be related to the concept of full employment if prosperity is to be sustained. He has provided the President and other members of the cabinet with a philosophy of continuous expansion to meet the needs of a growing labor force and to sustain our responsibilities for international leadership. The picture of what a prosperous future holds out for the average American, which President Truman has been painting to his train-side audiences across the country, is largely the picture that Keyserling's economic analyses have outlined in past reports. The course which he will advocate for the future can be expected to follow these lines.

Dr. Roy Blough, the University of Chicago professor of Economics who has been selected to fill the vacancy of the three-man Council caused by the elevation of Keyserling and the resignation of Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, seems to be an excellent choice. During his service in the Department of the Treasury from 1938 to 1946, tax-expert Blough was known to Washington as a man of progressive views on fiscal policy. His addition to the Council will ensure added competence in an important field.

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For months, while the President has meditated on the filling of these two important posts on his Economic Council, that body has marked time. Now, again fully staffed, the Council can assume the leadership in economic-policy matters it was established to provide.

ALABAMA COMES HOME

Alabama, the strategic Deep South state whose Dixiecrat rulers did not even permit President Truman's name on the ballot in 1948, is back in the Democratic column. Final returns from the May 2 primary show that loyal Democratic candidates in the primary won all major offices at stake and gained a clear majority on the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Senator Lister Hill, declining to campaign for his own reëlection, instead joined forces with Senator John Sparkman in a vigorous drive to oust the Dixiecrats from control of Alabama's Democratic Party machinery. Even so, he defeated Dixiecrat candidate Lawrence McNeil, of Birmingham, who waged a well-financed fear-the-Negro campaign, by a margin of more than two to one.

In a fifteen-man race for Governor, the only three Dixiecrats finished fourth, sixth, and eleventh, respectively. Far in the lead was 47-year-old Gordon Persons, protégé of the late Governor Bibb Graves and long-time member of the Public Service Commission, who opened his campaign with a brief statement favoring the national party, then dropped the subject while he proceeded to visit every nook and cranny of Alabama by helicopter. With 72 members of the State Executive Committee to be elected, Democrats won 38 places outright to 26 for the Dixiecrats. One winner was uncommitted. Seven places will be decided in the run-off on May 30, when Democrats are expected to get at least an even break.

Recapture of the State Committee by loyal Democrats is generally recognized as Alabama's most important political business of 1950. It was this committee, led by Mobile corporation lawyer Gessner T. McCorvey, which maneuvered in 1948 to cut the Alabama Democratic electors free of any obligation to support the party nominee. This resulted in the casting of Alabama's 11 electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket, along with the votes of South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi. Before the primary this year, Chairman McCorvey suggested that the "Democratic Party of Alabama" might move early in 1952 to select General Eisenhower as its Presidential candidate, with the hope that the Republicans would also choose him as standard bearer.

This statement provided loyal Democrats with valuable campaign ammunition. They hammered away at the idea that the choice of Alabama voters was between Democrats and Dixiecrat-Republicans. Hill and Sparkman, in statewide radio speeches, argued that the Dixiecrat aim was not primarily to stop FEPC, as claimed, but to help the Republicans and block the entire Roosevelt-Truman program.

Some observers believe that defeat of the Dixiecrats in Alabama marks their general collapse in the South. By 1952 they expect that many Dixiecrat leaders will have sought admission to the Republican family.

"A MAJOR LANDMARK"

The bill establishing the National Science Foundation to promote progress in science as a part of our national policy has been signed by President Truman. As approved by Congress, the new institution is a far cry from the "single federal research agency" the President called for in 1945. Originally, the Foundation was to be given $50 million in support of basic research its first year, with increasing amounts rising to an annual rate of at least $250 million in 1957. House and Senate amendments cut deeply into this grandiose plan. For the first year, the Foundation has been authorized a $500,000 appropriation, with $15 million annually thereafter. Despite the cut, President Truman called the establishment of the Foundation "a major landmark in the history of science in the United States."

Before the bill reached the White House, Congress struck out the controversial provisions that would have required the FBI not only to make investigations, but to certify to the Foundation the loyalty of scholarship applications and Foundation employees. Scientists throughout the country, as well as FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover, vigorously opposed giving FBI agents such power.

Coöperating with the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission, the Foundation will be headed by a $15,000-a-year director, appointed by the President, and a 24-member board to supervise research contracts, fellowships and scholarships.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

France was once the unexcelled land of ideas. It was the France of the eighteenth century that furnished the bases of the world's present ideological conflict. The ideas on the Left came originally from Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Montesquieu; those on the Right from de Maistre and de Bonald. France was also the country of Descartes' orderly reason, of intellectual moderation and clarity. There were therefore few Frenchmen who bracketed the relativities of practical politics with the absolutes of morality.

The France of today is different. The change has been made by two wars and the threat or promise, depending upon the viewpoint, of a third; by the experience of collaboration—not only with Berlin, but also with Moscow, with Rome and with Washington. The old France is inert, perhaps moribund. And in the new an increasingly passionate struggle is being waged between the extremists of practical politics.

The militant Communists claim the heritage of the historical ideas of the Left, but in fact they invoke "moral illegality." The phrase could not be less French; it comes through Lenin from the Jesuitical tradition that the end justifies the means, and its significance in the practical politics of 1950 is that crime against the people can (and should) be justified by the moral sanction of a "historically inevitable" conquest of the state. The neo-Fascists, who claim for Charles de Gaulle the ideas

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of the historical Right, are beginning to adopt a policy of "legal immorality." The idea (if it is an idea) comes through Mussolini and Hitler from the ancient dictators' *raison d'état.*

While French Communism prepares to go underground, French neo-Fascism is coming out into the open. The Communists are also doing their best to help it come out. They want to hasten the advent of a government they can call Fascist because, recognizing that the spirit of the times is against them, they foresee advantages in a cold civil war on the terrain of a straight Communism-vs.-Fascism issue. Hence they are purging their ranks, stressing illegal methods, training commandos by shock tactics for underground resistance. (See "The Communist Strategy in France," the *New Republic*, April 3.)

If the Communist strategy fails, it will not be the fault of the neo-Fascists among the Gaullists and fellow travelers with them. While the Communists turn to illegality, the neo-Fascists are producing their variety of legality; Colonel Gilbert Remy, a member of the executive committee of de Gaulle's Rally of the French People, has publicly offered "a loyal hand" as "a faithful follower of General de Gaulle" to "the faithful followers of Marshal Pétain, who, like him, have put themselves spontaneously at the disposal of France." Twenty-seven members of the National Assembly, mostly Gaullists and men of the Far Right, have called upon the government to take "exceptional" steps "legally" against all "anti-French" activities. *Le Figaro*, a leading conservative newspaper, justifies the request because, it says, France faces a problem of "public safety"—the *salut public* invoked by the Terror under the Revolution. The alternative, it warns, is to turn over the problem to "paramilitary anti-Communist organizations."

The strategy of the neo-Fascists is to bring de Gaulle "legally" to power through the double device of a "legal" hunting down of his opponents (most of whom will be called Communists no matter what their true political stands) and of a "legal" election to be won through the enfranchisement of those Frenchmen who even now are proud of having chosen Pétain and Hitler to save France.

The parties of the Right have long been calling for appeasement of the collaborators. The formula, strongly supported by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, has been "the human and political need for a gesture of broad national appeasement to benefit all those who do not have blood on their hands." Until recently, not even the extremists in de Gaulle's camp dared to go farther. They had to use indirect and secret means to tempt "the proud by power, the cruel by blood, the mediocre by hatred, the conservatives by order, the dreamers by great fables." They never went farther than suggesting pardon for the guilty who already had the blood of Frenchmen on their hands.

On January 7, Jacques Soustelle wrote in the Rally's official organ that "the time has come to open the door of clemency." He expressed the hope that Pétain, though "justly condemned along with all he symbolized," might finish his life under humane conditions. In March de Gaulle himself referred to the "opprobrium" of keeping the Marshal a prisoner.

But Soustelle (like André Malraux) is a former Leftist. Remy is not. April 11, he wrote in the weekly *Carrefour* that "the France of June, 1940, needed both Marshal Pétain and General de Gaulle—a shield as well as a sword." He quoted de Gaulle as having told him: "Bear in mind that France must aways have two strings to her bow. In June, 1940, France needed the Pétain string as well as the de Gaulle string."

The storm produced by this statement caused the Secretariat of the Rally to announce that only de Gaulle had the right to speak officially for the organization. The general himself gave out a public statement that despite "the esteem" in which he held Remy, a hero of the Resistance, he could not accept Remy's opinion. But he pointedly refrained from denying that he had made the remark about the two strings and the bow. Remy offered his resignation from the Rally's executive committee because "I recognize that General de-Gaulle has the right to judge all of my acts and ideas that refer to the Resistance of which he has never ceased to be the inspirer and the chief at home and abroad." But he did not deny or withdraw his original remarks.

Naturally, the Communists exulted, and newspapers of the anti-Communist Left cried "Scandal." But it remained for Rémy Roure, writing in the Right but anti-de Gaulle *Le Monde*, to explain why those remaining Frenchmen, who try to live by the old (and disappearing) standards of intellectual moderation and clarity, disbelieve the general's disclaimer of the colonel. He wrote:

> Remy's thesis amounts to the rehabilitation of Vichy, to a justification by "the reason of state" of all the acts, even bloody ones against Frenchmen, committed under Pétain. It puts in the same category open or clandestine resistance and servility toward the enemy. It means that there was between Philippe Pétain and Charles de Gaulle a kind of double-double-game, the one the shield, the other the sword. If the shield yielded to the firing squad and the guillotine, so much the worse for the victims. . . . So much the worse for the men who died in the Resistance, for those who were deported because they listened to the London radio. . . . The reason of state, the double-double-game, required the sacrifices. One should add on the marble plaques on our walls, which bear the names of the sacrificed, the names of their denouncers and executioners.

The point is that if France needed two strings to her bow (a remark which no one has denied), it is possible (to say the least) that French neo-Fascism needs now both the Remy string and the de Gaulle string. Roure comments that the thesis of the double-double-game is "politically immoral."

The relation between the Communist illegality and the neo-Fascist "legality" in the present French context is only incidentally of cause and effect. Neither would be developing as it is save for the American government's decision to take the steps considered necessary to support France as its principal military base in Western Europe. These steps are political as well as economic and military. The present French government is weak. No possible successor which relies on any combination of the Third Force is likely to be able either to win or command the French people willingly to fight World War III. It may be a tempting alternative to refrain from standing in the way of the "legal" advent to power of a "legal" government that can serve as the French shield to the American sword.

PERCY WINNER

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BELL AIRCRAFT'S FEUD WITH THE UAW

by Lewis Carliner

IN NIAGARA COUNTY, New York, home of Bell Aircraft Corporation, they are turning back the clock to the time when labor had no friends and no rights. It's as though the Wagner Act had never existed and union workers had never been accepted as first-class citizens.

Seven months after the end of a strike at Bell and the renewal of relations between the UAW-CIO and the company through arbitration, 62 top men and women are being prosecuted in the Niagara County courts for their part in the strike. Three men already have been convicted and sentenced to six months in jail. Forty others have been sentenced to serve 30 days each and pay $250 fines for alleged violation of anti-strike injunctions. The people on trial now stand to pay fines amounting to $300,000 and serve jail terms totaling 300 years.

Those penalties are not a hollow threat. The prosecution of the case now on trial is in the hands of Republicans; the jury consists of plant foremen and their wives, farmers and merchants. Under the Niagara County jury system, union men are not likely to be impaneled. (Of the first 17 jurors called in the present case, six were factory foremen.)

The prosecutions conclude a process familiar enough during the days before the New Deal spread enlightenment and the CIO achieved a position of respect and authority. The campaign to break the union began with one of those high-pressure plans that are intended to poison the air of the community, remind public officials of their responsibilities to management, stampede the workers back to their jobs and cut the leaders off from the rank and file. This plan became known as Taylor 3000; the name was taken from the telephone number which strikers were told to call if tempted by the back-to-work propaganda.

Taylor 3000 was tested in a strike of the CIO Chemical Workers at the National Carbon Corporation (Union Carbide) next door to the Bell plant. It had nearly achieved its purpose when the auto workers went out at Bell last July. Two weeks later the chemical workers returned to their jobs with no union, no contract and 400 of the strikers fired. (Charges of unfair labor practices have been filed, but it will take two years to decide them.)

In that atmosphere the Bell workers settled down to a long fight and watched Taylor 3000 unfold. This is how it worked:

First, the company precipitated the strike, then staged incidents on the picket line and used them as a pretext for an injunction which makes effective picketing impossible. This was followed by an advertising and letter campaign making a political appeal to the rank and file over their leaders' heads. Next came a series of more planned incidents which resulted in prosecution of union people for violation of the injunction. Then the company announced that the factory would reopen. When that failed, an effort was made to have troops sent in. At the same time union leaders were arrested wholesale and demands for bail were made that would have kept them in jail and strained the union treasury. After that the company started a personal recruiting campaign, sending foremen into the strikers' homes, and offering strikers and strikebreakers super-seniority and favored treatment.

The next step, according to reports the union got from foremen, was to have been a decertification election under Taft-Hartley and the establishment of a company union. Before that could be held, however, Bell was forced to accept arbitration; the union had shown too much stamina, the recruiting of strikebreakers had gone badly, and there were government contracts to be fulfilled.

The strike ended in mid-October. Under the arbitration award the union got a better settlement than had been offered by the company up to then: a five-cent-an-hour wage increase, of which half goes into a health-insurance program, and some contract improvements.

What Bell got for the money it spent during the strike on tear gas, blackjacks, parties for sheriff's deputies, a helicopter and radio control tower to make the sheriff's job easier, and a "scab-lift" to fly strikebreakers over the picket lines into the aircraft factory's landing field, was the strangest union-shop contract in American industry. The board of arbitrators appointed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey ruled that the union shop should continue in force, and then added a condition that would seem to be incompatible with the principle concerned: it held that the strikebreakers who worked during the dispute should be kept on the job and not be required to join the union.

Those were the immediate results of the strike; the ultimate effect of Taylor 3000 remains to be seen. The formula has already done considerable damage to the cause of unionism in Niagara County alone, where unions have been smashed at National Carbon, a die-casting company, and a department store—and it could be applied elsewhere, as has happened with similar local plans in the past. Its final consequences in the case of

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Bell Aircraft will not be known until the arbitration settlement has been fully tried out and the court proceedings against union men and their wives have been concluded.

Whatever the final result, Bell Aircraft can be satisfied that the strike didn't cost it any money. The taxpayers footed the bill indirectly through the defense appropriations on which the company lives.

STEEL AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

by Louis H. Bean

WHAT DOES the recent four-percent advance in steel prices mean to the steel industry and to the economy as a whole? On the face of it very little, judging from the arguments presented by steel officials before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. It was intended, the committee was told, merely to cover actual or anticipated increases in costs so as to maintain recent profit rates, and would hardly be noticeable to consumers of steel and steel products. A perusal of the testimony presented makes quite clear why a majority of the committee was unconvinced, and why it proposes that henceforth public hearings should be held before nationwide steel-price increases are announced, not after.

The factual material presented to the committee proved to be unrewarding. The committee sought, but did not get, a clear picture on any of these questions:

¶ What the price increases, including the "extras," actually amounted to;

¶ What increased costs in 1949 and workers' pension costs in 1950 would come to in relation to 1950 production;

¶ What the price increases would mean to the various consuming industries, to the declining capital-goods markets, to the relatively high level of prices paid by farmers for industrial goods;

¶ Why, in view of the industry's assumption of good business in 1950, it wouldn't be possible to maintain 1949 profits without a price increase; and,

¶ Why, if the industry is really competitive, did the financially well-to-do competitors of US Steel have to follow the price leadership of US Steel?

The main facts as seen by the committee are these:

¶ The price rise was both unwarranted and untimely in view of the uncertain trend in business;

¶ Steel prices in 1949 were relatively high and may have served as a deterrent to business investment in plant and equipment;

¶ Profits in the first nine months of 1949 were at record levels;

¶ Steel consumers and the government, through high prices and not venture capital, financed the postwar expansion in steel capacity.

These are the main recommendations of the Joint Committee:

That Congress should have currently available basic information on steel production, prices, costs and profits, to be systematically obtained by the Federal Trade Commission;

That industrywide price increases hereafter should be instituted after a public hearing rather than before, as is now the policy with wages;

That a study should be undertaken to determine whether the growth and the all-pervading importance of the steel industry in the maintenance of full employment have brought it to a status similar to that of a public utility.

Three of the features of this steel-price investigation that contributed to these recommendations are of particular importance: the nature of the decision to increase the price of steel; the facts as to profits and the so-called "break-even point"; and the common objective in the industry's high-price policy to finance replacement and expansion out of earnings.

The decision to raise the price of steel was very simple—as simple, it might seem to some, as deciding to take while you can. According to an official of US Steel, in charge of sales, the company examined the probable course of business for 1950 and the probable demands for steel by the steel-consuming industries. It concluded (in marked contrast, incidentally, to the pessimistic views held by steel manufacturers as late as last summer) that consumers would spend about as much money in 1950 as in 1949, and that, ". . . it appeared our economy is in a fundamentally strong position which would not be adversely affected by the moderate price increases that were necessary because of our increased costs." Furthermore, the increased costs, it was argued, add relatively little to the total cost of a house, an automobile, a tractor or a refrigerator.

The action taken by US Steel immediately became the new market condition to which the other companies felt they must adjust their prices, for their costs, too, they claimed, had risen and no reduction in the general price level to lower costs was in sight.

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Another top official of US Steel, in charge of finances, put it this way, "It was decided that it was entirely appropriate for those who actually got and had the benefit of the higher-cost steel to pay, at least in part, for that higher cost to the extent that they were completely willing to do so." If the judgment of the competitive market place proved the course of action of the US Steel Corporation to have been wrong, ". . . we can all be very sure that it will very soon be self-evident and self-curing."

Reasoning of this sort probably sounded good in the 1890's, but it doesn't make sense today. One of the chief reasons for the hearing was to find out why the other leading steel producers didn't take advantage of the competitive opportunity offered but chose instead to follow with similar price advances four days later. Only if the other corporations refrained from following the leader could US Steel tell whether steel consumers were competitively willing to pay the higher costs it considered entirely appropriate for them to pay.

The second fact that emerges from these hearings is that profits in 1949, in spite of the reduced volume due to some falling off in demand and the October, 1949, strike, were at record levels for the largest corporation (excepting only its high profits of 1915-18), and closest to the best year (with the same exceptions) for the industry as a whole. The years 1947, 1948 and 1949 will go down in steel history as "prince" and not "pauper" years.

During the past thirty years the steel industry has had a number of good years as well as bad. The best were 1920, 1923, 1926 and 1929, when the rates of return on stockholders' investment for the industry as a whole were between nine and 12 percent. The comparable rates for the past three years were 11.4, 14 and 11.5. In making these computations, I have included funds set aside by some corporations for accelerated depreciation, since this practice is not allowed by the Treasury nor generally approved by the accounting profession. These "princely" rates, furthermore, were earned on an expanding-investment base. Stockholders' investment in 1929 amounted to $2,733 million; in 1948 to $3,833 million, and probably about $4 billion for 1949. (See Table I.)

TABLE I

PROFITS OF LEADING STEEL COMPANIES IN 1947-49 AND OTHER PROSPEROUS YEARS[1]

Year	*Stockholders Investment* Million Dollars	*Rates of Return on Investment* US Steel Percent	Bethlehem Percent	Republic Percent
1920	1,642	11.5	8.3	13.2
1923	1,885	10.9	4.8	11.6
1926	2,196	10.1	5.7	8.9
1929	2,733	12.6	9.2	12.4
1947	3,389	10.0	9.2	12.2
1948	3,833	10.5	14.9	16.5
1949	(4,000)	9.5	14.5	14.0
31-Year Average	2,648	6.0	5.4	5.1

[1]Data for 1920-1948, Federal Trade Commission, 1949 preliminary.

US Steel, the largest firm, did not fare quite so well. It claimed a 1949 profit of only 6.5 percent on investment, but historically comparable profit rates for the past three years (1947-49) were 10.02 percent, 10.5 and 9.5, compared with 10 to 12.5 percent in the prosperous years of the 1920's. These rates also were earned as a rising investment base: $1.5 billion at the end of 1947, $1.9 billion at the end of 1948, and more than $2 billion at the end of 1949.

The profits figures for Bethlehem and Republic, the two largest competitors of US Steel, made an even better showing in the last three years than in the 1920's. They make highly pertinent the question why, as the great competitors of US Steel, they had to follow the latter's lead in the effort to test the "competitive willingness" of consumers of steel and steel products to pay the higher prices.

These profit figures suggest that the steel industry is not in immediate danger of going into the red, even if production were to be substantially reduced. The break-even point, the zero-profit level, the level to which steel production under present cost-price relations can fall without dragging the industry down into the red, is much lower than steel testimony indicated.

The Steel Industry Board appointed by the President in July of 1949 to settle the labor dispute in the steel industry considered the break-even point one of the factors in judging ability to pay, and concluded that ". . . it is unable to accept the union's estimate of the break-even point for the industry of 32 percent under present wage and cost levels. At the same time the Board doubts that the estimates made by some of the companies, running as high as 65 or 70 percent, reflect the actual break-even points for the larger tonnage producers. The Board's conclusion is that the present break-even point for most of the large tonnage producers is somewhere above the union's figure of 32 percent and below the companies' estimates of 55 to 70 percent."

The relation of capacity use and the profit rate that I derive from the data printed for use by the Joint Committee shows that the break-even point is closer to the union's than to the companies' contentions. As Table II demonstrates, production has to fall to 40 or 41 percent of capacity before profits are reduced to zero. By 1946 and 1947, the prewar relation between capacity and profits had been restored. (Note how well 1946 compares with 1937, and that 1947 also fits this sched-

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ule, allowing for the greater volume.) But in 1948 and 1949 the profit rates were about three percentage points too high. This is evident from the fact that for about the same capacity rate in 1948 as in 1947 the profit rate was 3.6 points greater than in 1947, and for about the same capacity rate in 1949 as in 1940, the profit rate was 3.3 points greater than in 1940. These relatively high profit rates amply justify the conclusion reached by the Steel Industry Board that the cost of the employee pension program it recommended, and now adopted by the industry, could be expected to be met without an increase in steel prices.

TABLE II

Year	*Production, Percent of Capacity*[1]	*Percent Earned on Investment*[2]
1932	20	– 4.52
1933	33	– 2.23
1934	37	– .69
1931	38	– .30
1938	40	– .25
1935	49	1.47
1939	64	4.18
1936	68	4.78
1946	72	7.14
1937	72	7.21
1949	81	11.50
1940	82	8.20
1947	93	11.39
1948	94	14.00

[1]American Iron and Steel Institute, Total Industry.
[2]Federal Trade Commission, Eleven Principal Steel Companies.

Furthermore, the industry has now demonstrated that full employment in 1950 would mean a market for close to 100 million tons of steel—a figure they called fantastic when I suggested it three years ago. On the industry's own assumption with regard to business activity in 1950, the volume of steel production should exceed that of 1949. This factor alone would serve to sustain the 1949 profit level without the recent price increase.

The third feature in the steel-industry argument is the apparent shift from a concern over a possible postwar depression (expected by leaders in the industry in 1947, again in 1948, and again in 1949) to the opposite conviction that high prices and costs are here to stay. In the first place, it was argued that steel prices over the past ten years have not risen as much as other prices, particularly farm-product prices, which are being supported by the government. This is quite true, but irrelevant, in view of the adequate profits of 1948 and 1949.

The comparison is also somewhat misleading. In 1939 farm-product prices were depressed. If the comparison is made with prices in 1926 as 100, farm products in December, 1949, were 155, but iron and steel were 165, metals and metal products, 168. In the second place, it was assumed that there is to be no further postwar downward adjustment in material and other prices in the "foreseeable future"; therefore, greater reserves for replacement and expansion will be required. In fact, the industry spokesmen want to revalue their plants at current reproduction costs and to set aside depreciation reserves sufficient to amortize the inflated values. In support of the conclusion that costs are to remain high, one official even quoted the report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers—which, incidentally, didn't say the general price level had to stay where it is, but rather that it didn't need to go back to the prewar level.

One president of a large steel company argued, among other things, for adequate profits through higher prices in order to improve the market quotations for steel securities so as to draw venture capital into the industry. This is, of course, inconsistent with the position expressed by other steel officials who have insisted over and over again that they want to get their funds for expansion from their customers through sufficiently high prices instead of through the security markets.

This argument that funds for expansion should properly come out of earnings made possible by sufficiently high prices to consumers takes us to the heart of the problem. It was a main feature in the hearings of the Temporary National Economic Committee (Senator O'Mahoney, chairman) in 1938, and has been touched on by the Joint Committee a number of times. In fact, some of the same industry representatives have been asked on this and earlier occasions whether the policy of providing funds for expansion from earnings instead of obtaining them from the capital markets would not serve to limit the outlet for the savings of individuals, keep down the prices of steel securities, and thus prevent the flow of venture capital into the industry. We are involved here in the following circle of conflicting policies:

First: If prices are to be high enough to build up adequate reserves, costs will tend to remain high, since steel prices are such an important and prevailing raw material. Consumer living costs and the farm parity-price level would be slow to come down.

Second: If the industry is to continue to derive its replacement and expansion requirements out of earnings, dividend distribution will tend to be restricted.

Third: If a relatively small proportion of ample profits is distributed in the form of dividends, the stock market will tend to undervalue steel securities, and if steel stocks remain undervalued, they will not draw venture capital into the industry.

These are not new questions, but firm answers would be new—and it is about time we had them.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Defying the Supreme Court*

NO SHARPER BLOW could be struck at orderly, democratic self-government than a defiance of the Supreme Court. Not long ago, two cabinet officers, not to mention the intolerable Attorney General of California, Fred N. Howser, have shown the Court how little they think of it. Unfortunately, the successors of the two cabinet members in question have made no attempt to improve the records of their two departments.

On June 23, 1947, almost three years ago, the Supreme Court held, in the case of U. S. vs. California, that the federal government, representing each and every citizen of the country, had "paramount rights in and power over" the three-mile marginal belt, including its oil resources. At the time Tom C. Clark, now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, incredible as this still seems, was Attorney General. J. A. Krug was Secretary of the Interior. One would have thought that these two officials would lose no time in making this almost untold wealth available to American men, women and children.

Others might have done so, but not these twain. ("'A pretty pair,' said the Devil, as he looked at his feet.") Apparently, they were concerned that private oil interests should continue to pump out for their own profit oil that the Court had said belonged to the people. In any event, as of July 26, 1947, a bare month after the decision of the Court, Clark, Krug and Howser joined in a stipulation that offshore oil operations along the coast of California might continue. The stipulation even went to the length of purporting to delegate power to the state of California to grant new leases under certain conditions. It also purported to give California the power to require its own trespassing lessees "to drill new wells" merely by giving the Secretary of the Interior prior notice. Subsequently this stipulation, which at the very least ignored the finding of the Supreme Court, was extended from time to time so that the usurped power thereunder will continue "until the expiration of sixty days subsequent to July 31, 1950."

On October 27, 1947, the Supreme Court entered a final decree, the substance of which has already been set down. It also declared that "the United States is entitled to the injunctive relief prayed for in the complaint." Did the Attorney General then ask for the "injunctive relief" to which the Court has said that the federal government was entitled? Astounding as it may seem, Clark did no such thing, which entitles one to suspect that Clark, as the lawyer representing the United States, had his tongue in his cheek when he asked for "injunctive relief." It is fair to say that at no time while the case of the U. S. vs. California was pending in the courts did Clark exhibit the concern and exercise the care on behalf of the United States that a lawyer customarily would, especially when the stakes were in the billions of dollars.

Clark and Krug continued in force a stipulation that subverted the rights of the people as declared by the Supreme Court. Later Clark, despite his flouting of the Supreme Court in the California case, became an Associate Justice. Krug resigned as Secretary of the Interior, without the shedding of tears on the part of anyone except himself. Howser continues as Attorney General of California, while the scrupulous citizens of that state keep their fingers crossed.

J. Howard McGrath is now Attorney General of the United States, and Oscar L. Chapman is Secretary of the Interior. Have they, jointly or severally, made any move to lighten the hardship imposed upon the American people by their immediate predecessors? Not at all. Either of them could have moved to strike down the stipulation under which California still operates the tidelands that belong to all of the people. But apparently neither has that respect for the Supreme Court and its decrees which should be rigidly observed by federal officials, high as well as low, if the properly exalted place of the Supreme Court among our political institutions is not to be relinquished.

In default of proper action on the part of McGrath or Chapman, the writer has laid the facts herein before the Supreme Court. He has protested the hard-boiled ignoring of a Supreme Court decree by the Attorney General and Secretary of Interior of the United States, and by the Attorney General of California, as well as by Mastin G. White, Solicitor of the Department of the Interior. The writer in the first instance had urged the late President Roosevelt and President Truman to instruct the Attorney General to go into Court on the issues involved in the California case. As a private citizen, on his own time and at his own expense, on May 8 last, he filed in the Supreme Court, as a Member of the Bar thereof, a "Petition and Suggestion" calling the attention of that highest tribunal in the land to the extraordinary and revolutionary record in this case. He has done this in the belief that the Court was not aware of the improper acts, conspiratorial in their connotation, that have been committed by the public officials involved. He has done it in the belief that it was his duty to make the Court aware of facts which he regards as probably the most glaring defiance of our supreme judicial tribunal in our history.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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A COMMUNICATION: What About World Government?

SIR: "The UN would plunge us into disastrous war if it had any real authority, or sought to exercise any," says Elmer Davis. (The *NR*, February 27.)

This, together with a belief that democracies cannot risk proximity with Communism for fear they could not hold their own, and a feeling that the present world, so divided on fundamental issues that we can do nothing until we have a different world, leads Mr. Davis to conclude that it is impractical to seek the development of the United Nations into a world federal government. Federalists are motivated by these contrary convictions:

1. If the UN cannot now prevent war, we must make it capable of doing so.

2. Democracy cannot only hold its own with Communism, but can surpass it, if it gets exercise instead of seclusion.

3. Whatever kind of world we may want, we're living in the one we've got, and if we want to change it, we'll have to work.

The difference between the two points of view is caused by a single ingredient—faith. Faith in the potentialities of the UN, faith in the strength of democracy, and faith in man's ability to control his own destiny.

After decades of devoted work for a better world, Mr. Davis may find it deeply disillusioning to live in an environment dominated by Molotov, Mao Tse-tung and McCarthy, but he is, nonetheless, a clear thinker who can lay a situation before us with challenging penetration. Mr. Davis did not "thin me out of his audience" when he said that Soviet aggressive expansionism is the major problem in the world today. I go right along with him, too, when he says that Russia is using a "world religion" to soften up its intended victims. There is also the Red Army and the Red atomic bomb, which Mr. Davis neglected to mention. The Soviet Union may not be *using* them, but some of their victims and intended victims have not been able to ignore the threat of their presence.

Czechoslovakia is a case in point. Mr. Davis says that a world federation could be subverted as easily and as surely as Czechoslovakia was subverted, if the Soviet Union and its satellites were a part of that federation. The question is: Was Czechoslovakia subverted by the Communist "religion" or by the proximity of the Red Army? This is important, because in a world federation there would be no Red Army and the Communists would have to rely wholly on the "religion." In a world federation, of course, no one would have an army, and everyone would have to rely on his own brand of "religion" to overcome the opposition. Faith in democracy leads me to believe that it would have a longer and stronger influence upon the minds of men than Communism, once the physically weak no longer had to fear the physically strong, but could make a free choice.

Mr. Davis argues that world federation is impossible, because of the fundamental conflict between the East and the West. He conceives of government as possible only over like-minded peoples. This, I submit, is a common misconception of the whole purpose of government. In my simple definition, government (which nobody likes) is only instituted by people who have to live together and find it difficult to do so peacefully. People who have to live together because they find themselves dependent upon one another in a confined space (like our shrunken planet) and can't because their interests collide head on (as those of the US and Russia seem fated to do), institute government to make the unpleasant necessity possible or bearable.

It is precisely because the East and the West are in conflict without being able to get away from each other that government, of a limited and carefully restricted sort, must be instituted over and above both of them. Never mind what Stalin says about coexistence, or whether he means it. The two systems can coexist under world law in a world federal government, but they can't coexist without it. . . .

The great question at the moment is whether either the United States or the Soviet Union will recognize these simple facts and act upon them. So far neither one has. Each may prefer to wait and continue to choose up sides until one or the other thinks it has strategic superiority. There are indications that certain parts of the world are not going to play this game. A proposal to federate might well win more friends and influence more people than ideologies, or economic and military power, have been able to do thus far.

When and if the two giants understand that federation is essential if they are to continue to exist at all, they can work out amendments to the UN Charter that are reasonably just to both sides—and the UN and the Charter are there, ready to hand, no matter what Mr. Davis may think of them at present.

United World Federalists recognizes the many problems that would be involved and advocates certain solutions to some of them. We advocate a federal form of government, because it can preserve the whole without destroying any of the parts. This means that both the USSR and the US would be able to continue their own diverse ways of life.

We suggest that this federation need have only limited powers, sufficient to prevent nations from going to war with one another, even if they remain free to agree to differ economically, politically and socially.

A system of representation can be worked out that would provide a compromise between weight of numbers on one side and weight of economic power on the other, with an equalizing factor of educational levels as a sort of fulcrum. Voting strength based on a formula that took these several factors into account would prevent any nation from dominating the federation. . . .

Disarmament of all nations to a level necessary for internal policing will have to be one of the initial world laws. There will have to be world inspection and police forces for the common security of all against infringements of the disarmament laws by nations or individuals. Laws that are applicable to individuals can be enforced by going

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to court instead of by going to war—whether the individuals are Communists or Democrats. Punishments or sanctions imposed upon individual criminals act as a deterrent, and can be confined to the guilty without involving the innocent. A bill of rights should give all individuals affected by the federal laws equal protection against their misuse, and a reasonable but restricted amendment provision would make later adjustments possible as they might be needed.

A direct system of taxation would provide the federation with its own revenue independent of the whims and possible ulterior motives of the national governments. . . .

The problems are there, but they are not insoluble if the nations seek their solutions because they realize they must federate or perish.

Mr. Davis, however, is less afraid that they will not federate than that they will. He fears that they will federate only to fight a civil war. Civil war cannot be ruled out, of course, as a possibility—a calculated risk. Certain factors certainly militate against it as a probability. We would have disarmed nations in a federation which had its own forces against rebellion. Today a strong, well-armed Soviet Union can subvert or take over a small, weak neighboring nation. Tomorrow, under world law, a disarmed Communist bloc would have to subvert or take over the forces of the world against the will of the majority of the world's peoples.

This would be well-nigh impossible if the executive body was responsible to the legislature, if there was an effective judiciary, if the command of the world forces was carefully checked and balanced, and if the forces themselves were individually recruited and mixed from all the nations and were garrisoned in dispersed areas in different parts of the world. Subversion under those conditions would have to be pretty extensive, if it was to be counted upon in so desperate a venture. Similarly, with proper inspection forces operating, it would be impossible to mount an illegal army of rebellion without detection until it was ready to strike.

Of course, as Mr. Davis points out, the Communists could behave in a world federation as they have in coalition governments and labor unions. They could be obstructive. But why would they do this? Having entered the federation at the sacrifice of the Red Army because they felt they must in their own interest, why would they obstruct their own affairs? There would be no one outside to impress. Would they do it in order to get their own way within the federation? Without a veto—and they would assuredly have no veto—they would be doomed to failure in the end. Delays and nuisances they might commit, but it would be an unpopular device that would be unlikely to rally a majority to their point of view. The obstructive and subversive tactics of the Communists were successful in Czechoslovakia, a little nation surrounded by the Red Army; they were unsuccessful in France and Italy, ravaged as they were by the occupation and devastation experienced in World War II. Would they be successful, then, in a worldwide United Nations endowed with the power of government and strengthened by the will of Americans, British, Indians and many more? . . .

Whatever the dangers amount to, on balance it would seem that the Soviet Union would be far less of a risk with its teeth drawn, inside a federation and under its control, than it is now outside, armed, and free to prey upon others at will.

Would they join?

Would we? That's the crux of the matter.

Do *we* see the need for world federation? Do *we* think it would work? Will *we* propose it?

Russia will have to make its own decision. Have we Americans enough faith in man's ability to solve the crucial problem of war and peace? Have we enough faith in democracy to pit it without fear or favor as an idea against the idea of Communism? Have we enough faith in ourselves to propose to the United Nations the moral and practical solution we believe will meet the situation? Or, lacking that faith, are we to permit the Soviet Union to decide our fate and the fate of the world by default?

Mr. Davis suggests that by pursuing an intelligent policy backed by a powerful army, we can persuade the Russians to settle down with what they have. This is to ask us to place our hopes in a system which has never worked. Nowhere on earth, on no page of history, is there any evidence that any community, of any size, has been able to procure peace by any device other than law. In the past 3,000 years, nations have sought security by various foreign policies deemed "intelligent" by their makers and backed by armies, navies and, of late, air forces. In these 3,000 years there have been precisely 227 years of peace. There has not been a single year of peace since 1871.

The only intelligent foreign policy is one seeking the extension of the reign of law.

United World Federalists takes the positive view. Our prescription to the world—and to you—is federalism and faith, Mr. Davis.

ALAN CRANSTON, Director,
New York City United World Federalists

SIR: My old friend and wartime colleague Alan Cranston urges me to have faith, which has been classically defined as the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. O.K., I have some faith, but faith in what? Faith that the men in the Kremlin would accept "disarmament of all nations to a level necessary for internal policing"? They might, if they were sure that all other nations would disarm to a point where there could be no interference with "action committees" such as operated in Czechoslovakia in 1948; and if they could be sure that they would have such positions in the World Government Executive as to enable them to paralyze action by any police forces that it might have at its command.

Faith that they would accept world inspection or laws applicable to individuals?—especially to individuals who violate the World Bill of Rights by cracking down on people who, for instance, try to indulge in freedom of speech where it is not now permitted? Laws that would prevent sending anybody to forced-labor camps at the whim of the local organization? When I see that, I shall expect to see the heavens rolled up like a scroll tomorrow morning.

Faith that Communists wouldn't try, in a world federation, what they got away with in Czechoslovakia?—and, as Mr. Cranston points out, did not get away with in France

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and Italy. No. They didn't get away with it in France and Italy because they no longer have a share in control of the forces at the disposal of those governments. They could hardly be denied a share in the forces at the disposal of a world government; and the minute they got in they would be burrowing away to make that share bigger.

Faith that democracy could hold its own against Communism? Yes, provided we exercise eternal vigilance. I think that vigilance could more easily be exercised if the enemy is on the outside than if he is sitting at the next desk, where you have to keep looking over your shoulder.

The substance of what Mr. Cranston hopes for—world peace and world freedom—is the same as the substance of what I hope for. But I hesitate to buttress that hope on the evidence of things that have never been seen yet, and in my opinion are not likely to be seen until the leopard has changed his spots. Certainly the alternative policy entails dangers, but less grave dangers than letting the opposition inside the door. Ask any union leader who eventually had to throw his Communists out—or (as in some cases) found that when the chips were down, he couldn't throw them out.

Washington, D. C. ELMER DAVIS

BOOKS IN REVIEW

PANIC: COURSE AND CONSEQUENCES

by James R. Newman

THE WORD "PANIC" is derived from the name of a disagreeable deity of ancient times who watched over shepherds. Besides a pair of horns, a flat nose, and the legs and feet of a goat, Pan possessed a furious temper which when roused made even the gods flee. It is not held that Pan actually inflicted physical violence on his victims; it served his purpose either to demoralize them by brutish outbursts or, more subtly, to infect them with uneasiness and vague apprehensions.

PATTERNS OF PANIC, by Joost A. M. Meerloo (International Universities Press; $2).

Panic is defined as unreasoning fear, a sudden seizure of terror, usually out of proportion to the cause. For the individual it may mean headlong flight, running amok, or some less aggressive hasty action; in the group, it becomes a "collective explosion," as Dr. Meerloo describes it, and often culminates in mob fury, riot, lynching, stampede.

Panic, however, need not be overt; it is a complex reaction assuming many different and even obscure forms. One person may be routed by noise or the fearful reality of battle, another by the sight of fire, blood, pigeons, snakes, drunkenness; yet another may succumb to a shadow, a fantasy, perplexity, "melancholy," "rapture," or some purely inner conflict; the frustration of expectation also arouses such strong fear and anxiety that actual danger may be preferred to the anticipation of it. The ability to endure anxiety and uncertainty is highly variable; some persons placed under stress crack up immediately; others can carry the burden for long periods; others again—the phenomenon of post-battle shell shock is familiar—surrender to terror when every obvious cause for alarm has been removed.

There is latent panic in all of us. Man is especially vulnerable because his natural biological defenses are poor. Compare him in this respect with a crocodile, an eagle, a lion or a clam. Primitive man, says Meerloo, "lived in a chronic panic, a chronic alert, a chronic mobilization for flight." This universal on the subject of Pleistocene psychoses sounds to me a little glib. We can, however, accept with confidence his assertion that man is not adjusted to his environment as are animals (even our immediate ancestors were masterful climbers, an essential defense in the struggle of life), that he must substitute for fang and claw tools and superior reasoning power. Obviously in striving for mastery over nature his intelligence has served him well; less well—though even in this domain it has not altogether failed him—in liberation from the congeries of irrational fears. In panic man's best weapon is abandoned and he is left the more naked, as he is the more civilized, to face danger, real or imagined, with nothing better than his vestigial talents for flight.

Dr. Meerloo's book is less concerned with "solo-panic" than with collective psychological disturbances affecting even the largest social groups. This is a growing problem, and while there is abundant historical precedent for the anxiety of our own period, one may doubt whether group panic has ever before carried so great a threat to the survival of society. Mass hysteria was common enough during the Middle Ages, as witness the Children's Crusades, the epidemics of St. Vitus' Dance and other collective furies. Modern civilization "does not defend man against mental contagion and reactions of panic." On the contrary, advances in travel and communication, among others, have increased man's sensitivity, multiplied the carriers of mental contagion and augmented their effectiveness, and reduced the likelihood that a mental epidemic would exhaust itself in one locality before it had the chance to spread to others. Any knave or halfwit with access to a microphone can, in a few seconds, stampede half the world. It has been done and it will be done again.

"Knowing panic is, by and large, conquering and preventing panic." The forms and the causes of social panic are worth reviewing, even briefly, to help with our perspective of where we are and which way we may be going. Wild flight, rioting, vandalism are the most familiar manifestations; there are endless examples: the great Indian Mutiny, the Brooklyn Bridge disaster, the capsizing of the *General Slocum*, the massacre at Caporetto during the First World War, the collapse of the French army in 1940. Panic also has its silent forms: in an overcrowded London air-

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raid shelter, in the spring of 1943, the lights went out as the result of a bomb explosion nearby. "There was a sudden upheaval of tremendous fear in the pitch dark; no yelling or crying was heard. When first aid arrived nearly 200 of the 600 people were dead. Postmortems revealed no significant anatomical changes in the victims." They had, it is supposed, literally died of fright.

Panic also has its ludicrous, pathetic and tragic aspects. Since itching has an "especially disorganizing influence on the human psyche," DDT helped morale considerably in the last war. In Quito, Ecuador, where Orson Welles's invasion-of-Mars radio fantasy was rebroadcast, the New York-New Jersey panic was repeated, except that fleeing street mobs were so enraged on learning of the hoax that they wrecked Ecuador's principal newspaper building. "On July 14, 1943, a British pilot bailed out over Holland. A Netherlander on a motorcycle was in the vicinity of the parachute landing and offered the pilot his help. The pilot, however, said that his instructions were not to endanger the Netherlanders but that he would like to be conveyed by motor to the nearest German post. The Hollander took him there. The British officer entered, followed by his escort, and the Germans were so frightened that they surrendered. When they discovered their mistake they started to scold vehemently." Inmates of the German extermination camps immersed themselves in and clung to "petty daily routines" to avoid thinking of the final horror. Whenever a group of Jews were sent to the furnaces the same kind of scenes took place. "In the midst of panic and hysterical crying (I quote from the Dutch author De Graaff) there were people who remained eating their breakfast. Another explained, 'I cannot go now, my laundry is not dry. I have to take care of it.' A nurse stuck to her task and read all the thermometers over and over. A tailor remained sewing the coat of a German officer. They all wanted to deceive Fate by concentrating on little duties."

There is no simple relation, in the psychopathology of panic, between cause and effect. Panic is as irrational in its dynamics as in its cause, or at least must appear so, in the majority of cases, to all but the most skilled and sensitive observers. The Indian Mutiny started on a rumor, wholly false, that the cartridge cases, which the troops had to tear with their teeth so as to release the charge of powder for the muzzle loaders, were coated with either pig or cow grease: the first, a defilement of the Moslem troops; the second, of the Hindus. A melange of rumors, both spontaneous and carefully sowed by the enemy, contributed more heavily than dive bombers and blitz tactics to the collapse of the French army in 1940. At Caporetto when a huge Italian army fell apart in the face of much smaller enemy forces, it was ostensibly because the Italians had no gas masks. (The Austrians, to be sure, had no gas.) A feeling of betrayal or abandonment by its leaders may lead a whole nation to panic (the Dutch, for example, when the Queen and other government officials fled after the Nazi invasion in 1940), and almost the entire world was stricken with anxiety and depression after the death of President Roosevelt.

Economic and financial panics may be precipitated by sudden fears occasioned by the collapse of a bank, investment house, mining company or the like; their incubation period, however, is usually extensive, the embryo deriving nourishment from political or social unrest. Our economic relations, as Meerloo reminds us, are largely based on "mutual distrust and tremendous competition." An economic engine which must continually accelerate ("ever increasing prosperity") so as not to stall, makes demands which few human nervous systems are able indefinitely to support. "On one side there is a mood of immense expectancy, of waiting for the golden eggs of the economic system, with its old frontier romanticism, its dream of wealth, but at the same time there is that hidden mental uneasiness about keeping up the tension, until the sudden breach in self-confidence takes place. Unlimited competition stimulates inner fears. People become suspicious because they project their own hesitations onto all kinds of social manifestations. After a boom the country may become more suspicious." Meerloo points out also that *any* significant social or economic change gives rise to insecurity and panic. A new pattern of living, the abandonment of accepted ways, however discredited, means an alteration of habit, a venture into the unfamiliar; for the majority of men and women this is a precarious step. In part, at least, this explains the effectiveness of name-calling against measures and advocates of reform.

The more serious panics—in respect of scope and duration—are, as I mentioned above, those longest in the making. A mob quick to violence is also likely to be quick to disband. But long-persisting irritants—biological, social, economic—may produce something akin to chronic disease, punctuated perhaps by acute flare-ups. Illiteracy, superstition, bigotry, magic religious attitudes also play a considerable part in increasing the receptiveness to panic and in maintaining the panic state.

A valuable section of Meerloo's study is devoted to an account of the causes, course and consequences of contemporary panic. One observes a deeply involved and often contradictory pattern the true nature of which is only dimly apprehended; it may be that many of our fears are justified, that certain critical elements of the pattern have not emerged or are under control, that we have reached the crest of national anxiety and that the excesses which have occurred will act as purgatives and restore health. Nonetheless it is clear that the situation is dangerous, for even adopting the optimistic view that we have passed the crisis and are convalescing, there is the ever present possibility of a setback.

The American people have long been exposed to social and political conditions making for insecurity. The great depression; two great wars; the deep, unhealed social scars left by the incomplete surgery of the New Deal; economic conflicts; sectional and racial tensions; the tug-of-war between isolationist and non-isolationist tendencies; artificially stimulated xenophobia and the fear of mysterious new weapons (rays, discs, bombs, germs), ours as well as the enemy's; a sense of "atomic" guilt for having used the weapon and for building it now: these are among the principal old and new causes of unrest.

No less striking and characteristic are the contradictions of high opinion and

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policy we are asked to reconcile. It is said that we are prosperous and spiraling upwards to new levels of opportunity and abundance; it is also said that unemployment is rising and a new depression may be around the corner. We are militarily the greatest power on earth; also, our Air Force is inadequate, our Navy obsolescent, our atomic monopoly broken, our atomic secrets dissipated and stolen. Our foreign policy is the only course that promises success in the struggle against Communism; also, China is lost to us, in France, Italy and Belgium there is deep unrest, Korea, Greece, Persia, the Philippines and Indo-China are in various phases of disintegration, and the Marshall Plan seems to be approaching its goal no more rapidly than did Tantalus. We are internally secure, the Communists are a feckless minority and the FBI has its eye on every spy; also, the government, the labor unions, the education system, the entertainment industry are seething with subversion, the Communists are not only a formidable menace, of themselves, but are abetted by fellow travelers, liberals, dupes, socialists and Fair Dealers. We are well protected by the oceans against Russian attack, and, since intercontinental rockets are not a reality, we need not fear atomic attack; also, another Pearl Harbor is imminent, our civil defense is in a parlous state and we should at once start dispersing our cities. We are firm in our adherence to the Bill of Rights, to our traditional freedoms (including the principle that guilt is personal); also, to meet the present menace we must be prepared to recognize and to punish such offenses as "near-treason," disloyalty, heretical sympathies and sympathetic association. We are dedicated to peace and to the dignity of man; also, it may be necessary to wage catastrophic war, risking the destruction of man, to preserve that dignity.

I do not mean to imply that all the dangers warned of are unreal, that there are in fact no antithetical situations, and no honest dilemmas. I mean to emphasize that there is abundant confusion, partly justified, partly the result of irresponsibility or deliberate design, that confusion breeds insecurity, that insecurity long continued is the precursor of panic. We are not yet, of course, so unstrung that panic rules in its grossest forms. But there is ample evidence of widespread agitation, of apathy, of mutual suspicion, of crumbling morale, of a creeping barrage of anxiety and fear, leaving behind it the ruins of some of our most cherished rights.

The blame for this state of things is often laid on the McCarthys, the Mundts, the yellow press and like creatures. Secretary Acheson has recently denounced the attacks upon him and his policies as "vicious madness." This is true, but it is also too simple. There is never a shortage of oafs in any trade; second, murderers are readily hired. But what Acheson apparently fails to realize is that the attacks upon him are dangerous, not because they are launched, but because they are seriously attended; that they are listend to because unrest and anxiety have greatly increased the receptiveness to reckless charges; that certain policies, opinions and alarms propagated by himself and by others are in part responsible for the assaults of which he and others are the victims. The attempt to scare Americans out of their wits by the bogyman and great-conspiracy principle of history having been quite successful, it is now hard to know how to give reassurance. "Total diplomacy" does not, I think, leap to mind as the ideal method. A government that repeatedly alerts its citizens to the danger of being swallowed by a monster from without or destroyed by a Trojan horse from within, and that formulates its entire foreign policy and much of its domestic program in terms of security, military preparedness and the winning of a cold and, if need be, a hot war, is in effect staging a race between a national nervous breakdown and an overwhelming popular demand for war—any war that offers the welcome substitute of dread reality for dread suspense.

The logic of human psychology, the logic of panic in particular, makes it inevitable that widespread anxiety should lead to widespread guilt. It has become a new virtue to suspect our fellow citizen, to "project on him all the evils that are printed in the modern slogans about spies and traitors." Feeling guilty, we hope to purge guilt, to regain self-confidence by persecuting and punishing others. Feeling guilty and afraid, normal things become strange and hostile; the known becomes the unknown; the capacity for judgment vanishes. Whatever, under such circumstances, gives substance to shadow affords relief. "We may be 'traitors' or 'fascists,' 'spies' or 'Marxists'; the very accusation makes us guilty of a hideous crime, of being a mirror of another man's hatred and evil thinking." Thus it comes about that behind every false rumor "we find the deepest collective wishes of the community." It is this complex situation which the Secretary of State sought so flatly to dismiss.

Today we are at the point where fear of ourselves, of impending war, of world revolution, of unknown changes and forces, has reached alarming proportions. It is hard to see in this Salem-like atmosphere how reason is to reassert itself, how self-confidence and mutual trust are to be reëstablished, how men are to learn to measure and meet their awful real problems with maturity and courage.

"The intellect, the judgment are in abeyance. Life is running turbid and full; and it is no marvel that reason, after vainly supposing that it ruled the world, should abdicate as gracefully as possible when the world is so obviously the sport of cruder powers—vested interests, tribal passions, stock sentiments, and chance majorities. Having no responsibility laid upon it, reason has become irresponsible." Thus, George Santayana in 1913—an ominous year.

BRIEF COMMENT

The High Place, by Geoffrey Household (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $3).

Geoffrey Household seems to have made a sensible peace with the age; he writes romantic novels about it which give the reader—and evidently himself—a great deal of pleasure. Along with the pleasure, you get a special bonus: you are encouraged to hope, or perhaps dream, that the individual by exercising sufficient derring-do can conquer the authoritarian dragon. In *Rogue Male* the hero imagined that one man with a big-game rifle, a telescopic sight, a pure heart and 20-20 vision might free the whole world from Hitler. He didn't quite bring it off, but he gave the Nazis a bad turn and provided a laudable example for millions of other men who followed him in real life. In *The High Place* the hero, a free-born Englishman, sets himself against the new tyranny of the British Welfare State, which promptly slaps him down. He chooses exile in Araby. There he en-

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counters a strange little band that hates everybody—British Socialists, Western Capitalists, Russian Communists—and is bent upon solving the twentieth-century dilemma by establishing world anarchy. There is a girl that only the hero and Charles Addams could like, and an old-school diplomat carved out of Erich von Stroheim, and a part for Francis Sullivan, Sidney Greenstreet or Vincent Price, take your choice. About halfway through, you wonder where you've met the hero before and then it strikes you that it's our old friend Jim Hawkins who revolved so perilously between Long John Silver and Squire Trelawney but whose heart was ever in the right place and who ultimately muddled through. We shall see it all soon on the screen, I hope, and if the movie is half as much fun as the book, it will be a fine evening indeed. J. W.

A Long Day's Dying, by Frederick Buechner (Alfred A. Knopf; $3).

A Long Day's Dying is the first novel of a young (23-year-old) writer. If it is less interesting as a "literary event" than as a phenomenon of publicity, that is the result of a subtle disservice the publishers have done Frederick Buechner. A wide conglomeration of people were solicited (with astonishing success) to support the book by the the favor of a blurb. One must account for a large measure of the response as a friendly impulse of generosity to a new (and admirably serious) young writer, since Buechner's age figures so repeatedly in the comments, but the publishers have whooped up a blanket endorsement of the book unpleasantly resembling intimidation. The resemblance is most marked in a circular letter from Malcolm Lowry, enclosed in copies sent reviewers. This curious document not only provides the proper note for those joining the hymn of praise, but also defensively anticipates any chance "unfriendly critics," as though to anticipate were to refute. (One trick worth noting through the cloud of dust before the eyes is that of admitting the "influence" of Henry James, and then demanding to know what's wrong with "the old boy" anyway!)

The book is a deft and extremely "finished" novel (if one is willing to distinguish between manner and style) about a group of (to submit to the Jamesian "influence") "super subtle fry" in and around New York. Their relations may be assumed; they are difficult to demonstrate since the characters are so similar. At any rate, they are exposed—threatened—destroyed—when, in a moment of panic and to save herself, one of them deals treacherously with her son and a friend. It is risky to account for this book beyond a brief outline of its sketchy narrative. There are suggestions of meanings behind meanings, but anyone who penetrates such foggy airs of profundity may well find himself not suggesting, but inventing, the intentions in the first place. And if, as Lowry hints, the book means whatever you want it to mean, each reader should be allowed the pleasure of writing it for himself. J. F.

ON THE AIR: Worth Repeating

Columbus, Ohio

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY'S Institute for Education by Radio has just concluded its twentieth annual get-together here. Almost nothing said during the four days was brand-new. The practitioners, who came from the studios as well as the academies, brought no radical innovations. And yet this has been a most important event. For here, once more, basic principles were expressed. Those fundamentals must be emphasized so that we don't forget their existence.

On the opening night, Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish, professor of Education at OSU, spoke in disarmingly mild tones when he said that the *responsible* ownership of modern instruments of communication is a matter "of major public concern."

Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock, of the Federal Communications Commission, told the educators that if they want television to improve, they must swing into it now, fast. She did not tell what radio's present character is, but she hinted broadly when she said: "If you get into television now, you may prevent its assuming the same character as our aural broadcasting."

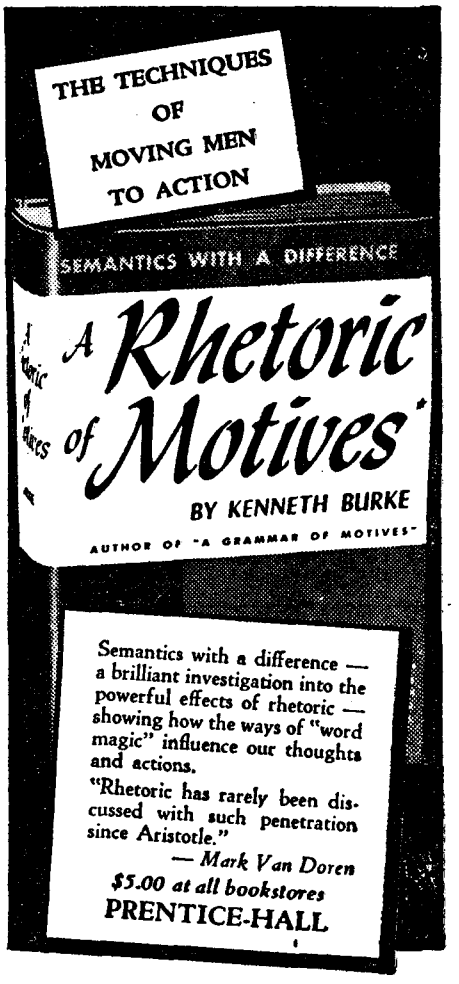
Dr. J. Max Bond, of Atlanta University, who is going to Monrovia soon as president of Liberia College, talked as a Negro educator. He doesn't like educational practices based on "equal but separate" opportunities for different races. He thinks that "separate becomes equal only when it disappears." And from that thought he managed to edge into broadcasting, about which he professed to know nothing, with the hope that both radio and television might be used to teach people to think.

Neil Morrison, supervisor of talks for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, raised the issue of a broadcaster's responsibility and, at one point, said: "I feel frequently that the 13-year-old mentality toward which some radio people beam their products is in the broadcasting studios and not among the audiences."

The FCC's chairman, Wayne Coy, sent a message in which he paraphrased Clemenceau's remark about generals and war with the observation that "broadcasting is too important to be left solely to the broadcasters."

Paul A. Walker, the FCC's vice-chairman, raised a series of questions like these: How much educational material has the public a right to expect from a commercial television system? Should the government set higher standards of public-service performance on the air? How can the public be better informed of its rights in our commercial television broadcasting system—since the public owns the channels?

A cynical New Yorker who joined me at dinner on the last night scoffed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at all this. The speakers may be different, he insisted, but the substance hasn't changed since he first came to the Institute's meetings a decade ago. He was right, but only in an arithmetical way. Even if not one of the ideas was new, their restatement is important at this time for the group that came up from Texas and for the ladies from the listeners' council in Wisconsin and for the superintendent of schools who probably never knew there were so many earnest men and women in broadcasting.

Add up this year's crop of aspiring pronunciamentos and they may total no more than those spoken ten years ago. But they gain greater significance from the fact that they are said and applauded by broadcasters and educators working under the hot breaths of Senators McCarthy, Taft, Smathers and the Dixiecrats. For one thing, the scoffing New Yorker had forgotten—he himself is one of the most progressive among the country's broadcasters—that body-warmth is comforting. A man in Manhattan is not as lonesome as one who finds himself the sole occupant of an enclave for decency in some denominational college in the Middle West or the South.

It must not be thought that the meeting's entire four days were spent in a fervor of idealism. There was plenty of nonsense too, such as the advice from one network representative that organizations like the YMCA or the Red Cross which want time on television better get themselves sponsors because "the medium is so expensive." Too often, the most forthright speakers were given the silent treatment. Neither Dr. Hullfish's nor Dr. Bond's ideas were pursued, once the formal papers had been given. At the session addressed by Bond, the audience preferred to talk about the price tags on transmitters and the chances for lifting the FCC's "freeze" on new television-station construction—instead of tackling the threatened freezing of thinking. When, at another session, former FCC Chairman J. Lawrence Fly pleaded calmly that those who expound unpopular doctrine be answered factually instead of by smears, he was promptly splattered with red mud by Louis Waldman.

But however much anger can be worked up over such occurrences, the fact remains that even those sessions that were dominated by the careless or the irresponsible drew attendance from people who came away slightly ashamed of themselves—and proved it by applauding more vigorously when the next decent man spoke up. The core among the educational broadcasters and among the educators interested in radio and television is sound. The Institute is needed, if only to reaffirm that faith once a year.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: Note from Paris

I HAVE JUST had word that "Cry of the Peacock," originally Jean Anouilh's "Ardèle or the Daisy," turned out to be a dismal failure in New York. This was hardly a surprise to me, because the play was too specifically French to be exportable.

A play like "The Madwoman of Chaillot" may prove successful with us, but there are others, based on psychological premises, which can be understood only in relation to French moral history of the past fifty years. In the earlier part of this period a certain lightheadness about *l'amour* was characteristic of the wealthy Parisian middle class, which was as confident that pleasure was the aim of life as the American is confident that success is its aim. If a little pleasure is good, why not more and more?

This confusion of sentiment with the senses is regarded by some Frenchmen today as a symptom, if not a cause, of a profound weakness, though to many foreigners it represents an attitude that lent to the very name of France a certain rosy glamor. Nostalgic references to the gayety of France's past usually imply the frivolous legend of French freedom in matters of sex. But it is precisely this view of the past—both in what it contains of fact and what is composed of literary idealization—that many of the younger Frenchmen today have come to despise. Since the past—

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that past celebrated in countless songs, novels and plays in which the boudoir or the bedroom are the main symbols of love—has led to nothing but the depleted France of today, the new generation rejects it totally.

It is possible for us to have a mental grasp of this development, but we can have little emotional experience of it. It is difficult, on parallel grounds, for an American to enjoy the French theatre today, because in almost every respect it gives evidence of a sudden shift from old values where it does not quite frankly betray a breakdown. In the first place, the French theatre has on the whole become miserably poor and physically backward. Then again, most of the younger actors seem almost hopelessly hamstrung by the conventions of rhetorical declamation, which arises from learning the technique of acting through the recitation of classic texts. Finally, staging is technically sloppy as a rule, and direction, in the sense of creative interpretation, almost non-existent.

Most of the plays are revivals of boulevard successes of the last twenty-five years (for example, Bourdet's "The Captive" or Colette's "Chéri"), imitations of such plays and a few earnest efforts by literary men who have not mastered the dramatic form. Jean Anouilh dramatizes his despair effectively, his leading theme being, I repeat, a bitter rejection of the past as in "Traveler without Baggage," which has been produced three times since it was written in 1936.

Albert Camus' latest work, "The Righteous," is not a good play, though it is respectable for its sympathetic statement of the problem of conscience involved in militant revolutionary action from the standpoint of the intellectual. This theme has some immediacy in France, but its chief interest for an American is to observe how the non-Communist Camus tragically accepts the use of violence for political purposes while trying to make a distinction between it and the systematic organization of terror as a method of political intimidation and coercion. A certain abstraction in the presentation of his theme—which marks the work of most of the younger men—reminds one of "The Cocktail Party," but what a difference in the two worlds out of which these plays come!

Jean-Louis Barrault's theatre and company remain the best in Paris, but it is significant that so far he has had no real success with a contemporary work. Early in the season he presented two one-act plays by a new Belgian writer. They were both so anti-religious and sacrilegious that they were hooted off the stage after one performance, and almost immediately presented anew at a tiny Left Bank theatre, where they achieved a tumultuous *succès de scandale*. For the rest, Barrault's repertory—apart from his Molière, his Marivaux, his Shakespeare—consists mostly of stylized productions of yesterday's plays or conscious imitations of such plays. So we have the most seriously artistic theatre of Paris doing a bedroom farce by Georges Feydeau—master of the genre from approximately 1889 to 1914—and a nineteenth-century cape-and-sword melodrama in a mock-serious vein.

In sum, there is little vivid sense of the present in the French theatre of the moment or full-bodied re-creation of the past which might indicate a healthy future. The theatre here is living on old securities, the value of which has shrunk terribly. Yet, for all this, there are 46 shows on the boards right now (there are, by the way, fewer than 30 in New York) and these 46 do not include the program of any of the state theatres, in which classics and a few moderns are to be seen. It is to be noted also that cheapness of production makes possible numerous small revivals of such plays as Strindberg's "The Spook Sonata" and other experiments, comparable but rarely any better than what is shown in our off-Broadway theatres.

There is, in short, an abundance of theatre in Paris, but poverty is one of the causes of its generally inferior quality; there is better quality in the American theatre but no abundance, for which our special kind of richness is one of the main causes.

The production of "A Streetcar Named Desire" in Paris is, except for the set, unspeakable. It is even worse than the production of French plays in New York.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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Pork in the Pork Barrel

■ The sorry contrast between the economy speeches in Congress and the votes on wasteful and politically inspired appropriations presents one of the most shameful spectacles on Capitol Hill. Robert Wallace, legislative assistant to Senator Paul Douglas, has scrutinized closely the recently enacted $1.5 billion Rivers and Harbors Bill. What he has found will shock and sometimes amuse the reader. It will be recalled that Senator Douglas made a most determined effort to block passage of the bill. Robert Wallace, perhaps better than anyone except the Senator, knows just how fat the pork of 1950 is.

Manners and Morals: 1950

■ What is the real significance of the Kinsey Report? Of the popularity of Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead"? Of the revival of interest in F. Scott Fitzgerald? Why does this country need "a good five-cent ideology"? What changes are being brought about by the increase in working women? By the reëvaluation of the "success system"? These and other matters are discussed by Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, brilliant Harvard anthropologist, in a forthcoming article.

If a Bomb Fell on Washington

■ What would happen if a uranium or hydrogen bomb were to be dropped on the nation's capital? Is it possible to decentralize the federal government sufficiently to offset the danger of such a thing? What are the chief problems, advantages and disadvantages of decentralization? Ray M. Stroupe discusses these matters in an article to be published soon.

Hot Spot in Indo-China

■ One of the world centers of conflict today is French Indo-China. How is the war going there? What are the chances for decisive victory on either side? How do the non-Communist Vietnamese feel about the French? Frank Robertson reports from the scene, in a forthcoming article.

Tribute to Harold Laski

■ In an early issue, Max Lerner will appraise the career of his former teacher and mentor in the field of political economy—Harold J. Laski. Among the many encomia already published and to appear, Max Lerner's will be distinguished by the intimacy of his knowledge of Laski's work and the sympathy of personal feeling.

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